

The World Tomorrow

JULY, 1932

Chile Turns Toward Communism

Samuel Guy Inman

Thomas for President

an editorial

The Menace of Racial Discrimination

Rayford W. Logan

A Radical Challenge to Christians

John Line

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The World Tomorrow

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No. 7

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The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XV

July, 1932

No. 7

Editorials

Thomas For President

It will not be news to our readers that THE WORLD TOMORROW is in favor of Norman Thomas for President. Though we are very happy that the Socialist Party has again chosen him as its standard bearer and anticipate a larger vote for the Socialist ticket than would have been possible under any other candidate, we are frank to say that we are first of all supporting socialism as socialism. We believe that the party has made mistakes in the past, but we do not share the conviction of those who think that the comparative weakness of socialism is due to these mistakes. The party is small because the American people have not yet cast off the individualistic political prejudices which have always characterized pioneer and free-land periods of economy. Unfortunately the transition from an agrarian to an industrial economy was made so rapidly in this country, and the wealth which flowed from the new industry and the marvelous resources of the country was so great, that the real problems of an industrial civilization were obscured to the American mind. Thus we were suddenly confronted with the worst depression in our history without any understanding of the forces which brought it about.

Many specific causes have aggravated the depression. But everyone knows that the basic cause is a maldistribution of wealth which makes it impossible for the worker to absorb the fruits of the productive process in which he is engaged. It is rather easy to realize, as well, that the real cause of this maldistribution is the disproportion of essential power. Ownership is power, and the ownership of the productive process inevitably determines where the major portion of the wealth of the process shall flow. A wise society gradually restricts economic power and brings it under social control. But there are limits to social control as long as the economic power remains intact, because that power is able to control the state which pretends to control it. Modern society no longer faces the problem whether or not it will have social ownership. The only problem which it faces is whether it can achieve this goal without catastrophe and social convulsion.

Every consideration of the real forces at work in our civilization drives us to the conclusion that socialism is inevitable. Our task is to awaken a politically immature people to recognize this fact before events overtake them and press a fate upon them which could have been accepted with better grace and less destruction if it had been accepted voluntarily. This does not mean that socialism will ever be accepted without coercion by those who will lose by such a change the special privileges they now enjoy. There will be resistance to the end. But if a sufficiently powerful workers' party can be organized in time and if it attracts the intelligent minority in other classes who understand the needs of modern society, the coercion which it must use will be less violent and the resistance to it will be less desperate than if we permit events to take their course until violence destroys what intelligence could not transmute.

In taking this unequivocal stand, THE WORLD TOMORROW is not departing from but rather is strengthening its editorial policy of the past years. It desires, if possible, to draw a sharper line of demarcation between its policy and that of the so-called "liberal journals" with which it is associated in the popular mind. Nothing is quite so dead in America as the liberal tradition. Some of its representatives express themselves in this day of political confusion by calling in one moment upon Roosevelt to show more courage and Hoover to reveal more intelligence and in the next moment by giving Norman Thomas a qualified support as a "great American." We are ourselves rather enamored of Norman Thomas' stature, but we know very well that his real stature depends upon his ability to call into being, and to lead, a powerful socialist movement. Other representatives of the liberal tradition, having adhered to it beyond its day, are now in such confusion that they are vaulting from liberalism to communism; but their communism is a little too emotional to be real. It certainly has not been thought through in terms of the peculiar problems of a complex industrial civilization.

If it seems strange to some of our readers that a religious journal should desire to take a more unequivocal attitude toward the political problems of the day than is the wont among "middle class" intellectuals,

we remind them that it is the genius of religion—on occasion the evil genius—to see things in sharp outline, to have a God and a devil, a Heaven and a Hell. This genius is not now appreciated because it usually deals with issues and symbols which are irrelevant to the real moral and social problems of modern man. We intend to make it more relevant; and we will leave it to the intellectuals to qualify and circumscribe our simple faith, to envisage other and less rigorous alternatives, and finally to lose the basic conviction in a maze of relativities.

The Republican Convention

A typical political convention arouses all the latent cynicism in even the most romantic soul. Witness the Republican convention in Chicago. It had to nominate a man who, as every Republican leader knew, had lost the confidence of the country. To make such an admission publicly by nominating someone else, however, would have been an unthinkable strategy. Therefore the game was brazenly to carry the bluff through as best they could. Temporary Chairman Dickinson, in a speech which contained every well-worn political stereotype of history, including of course praise of the immortal Lincoln, spoke of the achievements of Hoover in such superlative terms that the badly-frightened man in the White House appeared in the guise of a superman with a rare gift for prescience.

The man who nominated the President did even better. He made Mr. Hoover the incarnation of the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount and declared that his life "typifies spiritual values and the vanity of mere earthly things." Having before it this composite picture of the hero President, who had become by dint of campaign oratory a combined Abraham Lincoln and Francis of Assisi, the convention gave him an almost unanimous nomination and staged a nicely prepared demonstration of enthusiasm for him, in which the release of hundreds of toy balloons and similar stunts compensated for the lack of spontaneity.

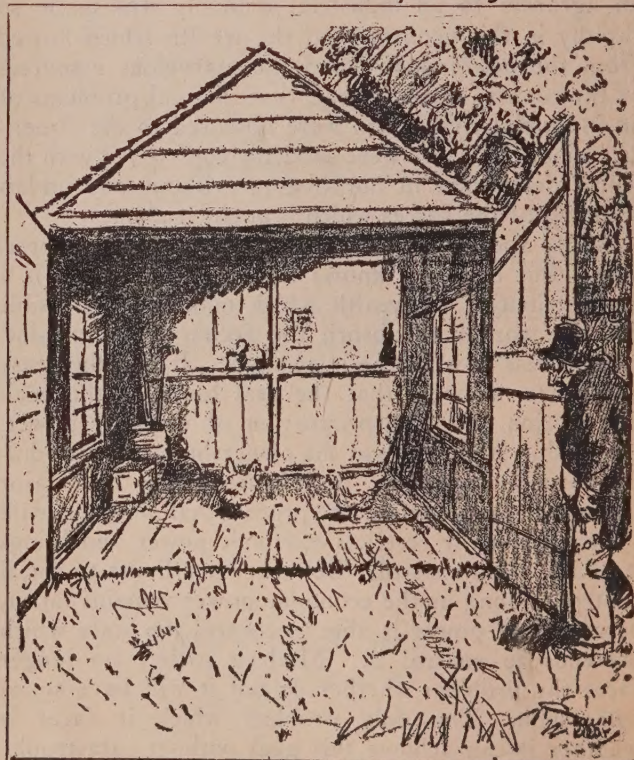
Then there was the platform. It was adopted without dissent as written by the committee, with the exception of the prohibition plank, in which Hoover's guess that he could not possibly become wet enough to win all the wet sentiment as compensation for lost dry support prompted a plank for resubmission rather than for repeal. This plank will serve the purpose of holding the dries in line without making it impossible for the wets to stay with the party, and politically considered, it was a fairly shrewd move. The Chicago *Tribune* declared the plank to be a "declaration of political bankruptcy—and futile as it is fraudulent." That is a much more accurate description of the total platform than of the prohibition plank.

The platform, though the Republican Party prides

itself on its federalism, praises the maintenance "of state and local responsibility" for unemployment relief and speaks of the "magnificent" generosity by which private charity met the crisis. It recounts the great benefit of the Republican tariff to the American farmer and takes credit for having taken the tariff out of politics. It asks for disarmament but insists that we must have a navy "second to none"; it deprecates the "shameful" increase in armaments but does not mention that we have increased our military expenditures more than any nation. It assures Latin America that we are interested only "in promoting the welfare and common interests of the nations of the Western hemisphere." It tells the veterans that the nation is and is not responsible for aid to them in cases where disabilities were not caused by the war; and it makes no suggestion for the reduction of the billion dollar annual expenditure for veterans' relief. And so the story runs. The only clear pronouncement of the platform that is of definite value is its advocacy of an international conference in case of a violation of the Kellogg Pact.

No one expects political platforms to be models of sincerity. But we doubt whether any of them ever exceeded the Republican platform of 1932 in buncombe, evasion, duplicity, and insincerity. It is in a sense a perfect document: it is a symbol of the character of our political life.

Two Chickens in Every Garage



—Rollin Kirby in *The New York World-Telegram*

The Dole in Its Most Debasing Form

Press and platform and radio are now being utilized in a national campaign in opposition to the inauguration of the "terrible dole system" in the United States. Citizens of this country are continuously being warned against the evils of unemployment insurance as found in Great Britain, and are being urged instead to rely upon the American plan of handling economic misery.

Charity, private and governmental, constitutes the American plan. Starvation must be prevented, and so we resort to bread lines, soup kitchens, and home relief. The ghastly inadequacy of this procedure may easily be discovered by an examination of the relevant evidence in any American city. Extreme cases are found in Niles, Ohio, where it is reported in the press that 4,377 people, one-fourth of its population, are being fed at a cost of one dollar per month per person. In Tulsa, Oklahoma, 10,000 persons are being given a charity ration costing six cents per day per person. In Toledo the weekly allowance per family is \$2.14.

To the retort that these are misleading exceptions, we invite consideration of national statistics pertaining to this discussion. When the fact is kept in mind that the situation is much worse now than was the case twelve months ago, the following figures for 1931, released by the United States Department of Commerce, assume added significance. In those cities included in the survey, representing 89 per cent of the total population of all cities and incorporated communities in the entire nation, the total average expenditure in the first quarter of 1931 was just under twenty-five million dollars per month. The number of families receiving relief during this period was 1,287,778 per month. This means that the average relief per family was less than 70 cents per day for all necessary expenses.

Nevertheless, it is frequently maintained, private charity is preferable to government doles. To which we reply: the records of this survey reveal that, of the total amount expended for relief, 60 cents of every dollar came from governmental organizations. That is to say, we already have a public dole.

One indication of the increase in the volume of need is found in certain comparative figures for New York City. The Welfare Council reports that in March, 1931, \$2,400,000 was expended for unemployment relief, whereas the figure for March, 1932, was \$6,700,000, exclusive in both cases of relief to the blind, aged, and mothers with dependent children. This latter amount was distributed among 175,000 families, affording an average of \$1.30 per day for each family for food, clothing and other necessities thus provided.

On June 9 the President of the Board of Aldermen of New York City, in a public address, said that one person out of seven in that city is now receiving help

from public or private relief agencies, and that in eighteen months a total of 102 million dollars has been expended in relief activities.

With not less than eight millions of unemployed in the United States at the present time, and perhaps ten or eleven millions, local charity is utterly inadequate to prevent appalling misery. Direct federal appropriations for relief purposes are imperatively needed. In wartime the government did not hesitate to float huge bond issues running into the billions. The present even more acute crisis calls for a bond issue of five billion dollars or more with which to put the unemployed at work on constructive and productive enterprises. Furthermore, this is the time for every thoughtful citizen to recognize the need for a national system of social insurance and to seek to arouse public opinion to action in this realm.

When industry collapses and millions of persons are on the verge of starvation, some kind of "dole" is inescapable. The American plan of relying upon bread lines, soup kitchens, flop houses, and other forms of direct charity is infinitely more demoralizing and destructive of human values than is the British system of unemployment insurance.

Is the Dam Beginning to Break?

How much significance is to be attached to the fact that the powerful National Electrical Manufacturers' Association has officially sanctioned a system of unemployment insurance? Let it be said at once that the step taken is a short one and is characterized by timidity. But it may represent a crevice in the dam of ignorance and passion concerning unemployment relief.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States has recommended the adoption of unemployment reserves. Similar action was taken by the Interstate Commission on Unemployment Insurance. The State of Wisconsin has enacted legislation in this realm. The General Electric Company and many other individual concerns have made a beginning in the same direction. Now comes this official action on the part of a national industry. The laying aside of reserves for depreciation, dividends and emergencies is a common practice among corporations. But it is only with the utmost reluctance that boards of directors are willing to set aside reserves for payments to the unemployed.

The utter inadequacy of the plan adopted by the National Electrical Manufacturers' Association is easily pointed out. Under "normal" conditions, the employee contributes one per cent of his earnings, and the company provides an equal amount. From this reserve the employee out of work may receive fifty per cent of his ordinary wage or salary, but not for more than ten weeks in any year. That is to say, if his pay is \$25 per week, the maximum annual allowance is \$250.

When demands upon the reserves exceed two per cent of the pay roll, an "emergency" is declared, and all employees, whether participating in the scheme or not, are assessed one per cent of their pay. The total amount thus received is divided on the basis of need in relation to the financial status of the employee.

While this plan moves in the right direction, it is tragically insufficient. As yet it exists only on paper, and when fully launched it will relieve distress only on a minor scale. The evidence is cumulative and inescapable that only by inaugurating a national system of unemployment insurance, adequately subsidized by the public treasury, can the problem be approached in a rational manner. And let it hastily be added, social insurance itself cannot cure the disease. It merely represents a scientific and humane method of protecting the victims of anarchy in production and distribution. Social planning alone offers a permanent solution for the problem of unemployment.

Reaction in Germany

The Von Papen government must give the Socialists of Germany, who swallowed their antipathies toward a field marshal of the old imperial army when they supported Hindenburg in the recent election, some rather anxious doubts about the advisability of preventing a dictatorship of the Right or the Left by means of the semi-parliamentary dictatorship of a Hindenburg. The old Field Marshal who confounded the reactionary friends who elected him in 1925 by staunchly upholding the parliamentary regime of the moderate parties, now bewilders the moderate friends who elected him in 1932 by putting the reactionaries in control of the government only two short months after his election was hailed as a victory for moderation. The peculiar prejudices of an old military leader with a strong sense of duty but with his roots in the soil of Junker life are rather frail reeds upon which to build a lasting social order. What evidently unhorsed the Bruening ministry was its laudable effort to cut up the East Prussian estates of the old aristocracy in the interest of the unemployed. For years these economically unsuccessful farming operations of the Prussian Junkers have received special concessions and subsidies from a depleted national treasury. To threaten their partition was an act of impiety which seems not only to have aroused the aristocracy to desperation, but to have tempted old Hindenburg to withdraw his confidence from the man who by his authority and prestige has been governing Germany for the past two years.

There is a possibility that Hindenburg justified his surprising connivance at a virtual *coup d'etat* by the thought that the recent German elections had practically destroyed the slender popular support of the middle parties, bourgeois and socialist. He may have

felt that the way must be paved for a Reichstag which represents present German convictions. But that interpretation of his action does not take into consideration the fact that the new government is more reactionary than Hitlerism. In Hitler's party there are at least many millions of the dispossessed middle classes. Hitler might never have been able to satisfy their conflicting interests; but if he had not, his government would soon have collapsed. The danger in the Von Papen government is that it will try to initiate a policy of realistic and pure reaction as against the romantic and confused combination of reaction and radicalism of the National Socialist Party.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the German government crisis has come at the most inopportune time. It will confirm and accentuate all the traditional French fears and make a settlement of economic questions at Lausanne practically impossible. It makes the European outlook darker and more ominous than ever.

One wonders what the Social Democratic Party of Germany will do, now that its decade of collaboration with middle-class liberalism and conservatism has ended in such a sorry fiasco. If it will not make quick to initiate a rigorous policy of its own which will save it from being dragged on the chariot wheels of reaction, it will probably be decimated by the communists. Non-revolutionary socialism has a difficult road. It cannot escape the necessity of collaboration with non-socialist parties; but the German situation proves that there must be definite limits to such coöperation and the German party has exceeded those limits.

The Methodists Fall Back and Advance

Once every four years the Methodist Episcopal Church sends its representatives to the General Conference, and this year they assembled at Atlantic City during May. Many aspects of their deliberation were extremely disappointing, while in other directions substantial gains were made.

The gathering was a depression conference and gave evidence of fright. Among the drastic reductions in budget was the disemboweling of the Commission on World Peace by limiting its annual appropriation to \$3,000, thereby precluding its ability to continue the employment of an executive secretary. Anti-pacifist elements in the conference could not conceal their delight and broke into applause when the result of this vote was announced. Hour after hour was consumed in debate and wrangling over administrative detail, while many of the pressing social crises of the hour were ignored or passed by after superficial consideration.

Nevertheless, significant gains were registered. Under the leadership of Ernest Fremont Tittle, of Evanston, a resolution was passed declaring that here

after the General Conference shall not be held in any city in which the hotels which entertain the delegates discriminate against Negroes or Orientals. The keynote address of the bishops was timid and evasive in many sections, but occasionally it resorted to vigorous language, as may be seen from the following paragraphs:

Industry has as a rule given labor a grudging, insufficient wage, keeping it down by child exploitation, by suppression of legitimate organizations, and by other expedients, while at the same time huge fortunes have been amassed for the favored owners of the resources of production. Today the burden is without conscience shifted to the worker who, after giving his labor for miserable financial results, is turned off to starve or beg. Thus, the machine, which might have been used to lift the load of poverty from the backs of all the people, has been used selfishly for the benefit of a few. Such a situation is intolerable.

From an economic point of view war is insanity. From the viewpoint of world morale it is chaos. In a word, war, from every viewpoint, "is hell," as Sherman declared. . . . Recognizing militarism as a chief enemy of humanity, we cannot escape the conviction that another war might confront our people, in one country or another with a definite choice between Christ and anti-Christ.

An official resolution adopted by the General Conference, concerning the economic order declared:

Confronted by the spectacle of the breakdown of our social and economic structure around the world, with its toll of human want and misery, it is clear that the Church must not acquiesce in the continuance of the present status. An economic order that produces privileged classes has proved itself incapable of performing the elementary duty of providing the whole population with the means of existence and growth. . . . The present industrial order is unchristian, unethical and anti-social because it is largely based on the profit-motive which is a direct appeal to selfishness. Selfishness is never morally right, never Christian, and eventually never benefits anybody. It is now clear that this moral defect produces functional incapacity by throwing the forces of consumption and production out of balance. A satisfactory social organism cannot grow out of an unsocial seed. Self-interest is both planless and, in the largest sense, without social intelligence, thus producing the periodic economic crises which from time to time plunge the world into depression and want. The present calamity is becoming increasingly threatening, so that it makes imperative a reconstruction of our economic order.

Among the specific measures advocated by the Conference are the following:

The replacement of our present policy of unplanned competitive industrialism by planned industrial economy definitely aiming at the assurance of economic security.

The introduction of unemployment insurance, accident and disability insurance, and old age pensions, planned and administered on the sound basis of actuarial experience.

Concerning international relations and the question of war and peace, the Conference went on record in these words:

We rejoice in the position taken by the General Conference of 1928 which declared that we are opposed to all military training in high schools and to compulsory military training in colleges and universities, and which further said, "The agencies of our Church shall not be used in preparation for war; they shall be used in preparation for peace. . . . We believe that the time has come for the world to acknowledge the fact that the sole guilt of the German nation alleged in article 231 of the Versailles Treaty cannot in justice be maintained. We hope that religious and other bodies the world around will join with us in urging the League of Nations to seek a revision of this article.

We also believe that the time has come for the world to recognize the fact that further reparations based upon this article should not be demanded of the German people. . . . We therefore urge the government of the United States, inviting the coöperation of other governments which are involved, to arrange for a new settlement of war debts based upon the present economic situation, upon drastic reduction of armament and of military expenditures. . . .

We petition the government of the United States to grant to members of the Methodist Episcopal Church who may be conscientious objectors to war the same exemption from military service as has long been granted to members of the Society of Friends and other similar religious organizations. Similarly we petition all educational institutions which require military training to excuse from such training any student belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church who has conscientious scruples against it. We earnestly petition the government of the United States to abolish all military training in civilian educational institutions. We urge Methodists in all parts of the world to make a like request of their respective governments and further to plead for the abolition of compulsory military service in countries where it is now required.

The Methodists retreated along some sectors, while in other regions they advanced vigorously. The supreme question is this: Will the churches move forward with sufficient rapidity while there is yet time?

Left Wings, Unite!

It is becoming more and more evident that a new alignment is about due in the peace movement. Sincere efforts to maintain a united front among all the peace organizations on major issues of war prevention are apparently just now impossible of fulfillment. The common denominator of agreement demanded by the more conservative organizations is set so far to the right that it is impossible for the left-wing groups to tone down their demands to what the conservatives want without abandoning the attempt to educate the public on vital issues which will not wait for the slow step-by-step methods of the conservative right wing.

When, for example, a united front is interpreted to mean that a united appeal to the political conventions assembled in Chicago must omit a direct plea for reduction of tariffs, cancellation of war debts, recognition of Russia and disarmament down to the level imposed on Germany, what gain is there in unity purchased at the price of talking only about the World

Court or reduction of "aggressive" armament? If the right wing of the peace movement cannot feel the urgency for taking the lead in a campaign of immediate public education on those issues which are the ones most likely to cause war in the next five years, then there is no honorable course remaining to left-wing groups but to rally their forces as effectively as they may and speak out with the utmost vigor in attempting to get immediate decisions from governments, and from an aroused public conscience, which may stay the drift toward disaster.

We welcome, therefore, the recent drawing together of left-wing peace organizations in this country in an Emergency Peace Committee and the presentation of their planks to the Republican National Convention at Chicago by Jane Addams.

We approve also of the forthright statement on disarmament issued by Professor Einstein of Germany and Lord Ponsonby of England to the press of the world at Geneva last May. We understand that two famous Frenchmen, MM. Romain Rolland and Victor Margueritte also associated themselves with this statement, which we should like to see immediately endorsed by left-wing groups throughout the world and vigorously carried by them to all people. We append the statement in full:

It having become obvious that the discussions in Geneva are not progressing in such a way that they are likely to achieve a practical programme of disarmament in time to save the world from the disaster of another war, we believe that the time has come for the peoples of the world to take the matter into their own hands by insisting upon complete disarmament within five years, and the immediate abandonment of the war method in any circumstances whatever.

This must include: the abolition of conscription; the immediate cessation of recruiting and enlistment; the immediate cessation of the manufacture of munitions and weapons of war.

The peoples of the world must be ready to achieve these objectives by personal and collective refusal to manufacture or to transport war materials, as well as the refusal of military service.

Geneva and Lausanne

That so moderate a proposal as the Hoover arms reduction plan should have been hailed as "sensational" and "drastic" only reveals the state to which we had come. For moderate it surely was. The President envisaged a saving of ten to fifteen billion dollars in the next ten or fifteen years. That is at the rate of a billion a year, while our mad planet is already spending very nearly five billion dollars annually on armaments.

The plan fails to touch one of the most vital spots in the armor of Mars—the vast numbers of reserves in most of the large countries. It was easy for Italy, obviously, to hasten her acceptance of the pro-

ject because, under a military regime imposing the most rigorous military training and indoctrination upon youth, Mussolini looks for strength not so much to the actual effectives as to the millions enrolled in the Ballilla, the Avanguardisti, and the Young Fascists.

But the atmosphere at Geneva had become so stagnant, the pessimism of the world's peoples so entrenched, that any plan suggesting something positive, in concrete terms, had a chance to save the conference from immediate collapse. For this Messrs. Hoover and Stimson deserve full credit. European diplomats may hem and haw; the wily Sir John Simon may continue to utter his incredible trivialities; M. Herriot, juggling his parliamentary blocs precariously, may have to speak sternly of safety for France, while of course M. Paul Boncour, father of the world's most extreme war-time conscription law, whose very presence at Geneva is a mockery of peace, must ring the changes on the time-worn security theme. But nevertheless, once more people everywhere have been set talking of something specific, the peace forces are rallying anew, and the tacticians have been sent stumbling back in haste to their arts of evasion and delay. They are obviously still confused and some of them are clearly troubled lest public opinion push them into action.

The Hoover suggestion, too, is excellent in its direct if half-hearted onslaught against the forms of war machinery universally conceded to be of crucial importance in a future conflict, and to the expansion of which, under a less concrete project, funds might easily be diverted from obsolete and obsolescent weapons. Bombing planes, chemical preparedness, aircraft carriers, and cruisers are at any rate of some genuine technical significance. Despite its numerous weaknesses, the Hoover appeal will tend to drive the world to a full discussion of its further implications, just as his moratorium plan of last summer, even though only a stop-gap, electrified the masses of Europe. It may fervently be hoped that the new impetus given to the forces of sanity on this occasion will not be dissipated, as in the case of the moratorium, by protracted French recalcitrance and the inevitable recourse to political barter.

What is weakest of all in the American position, and Europeans will not be slow to hammer away upon it, is our fantastic lack of frankness regarding war debts and reparations, and the same with regard to tariffs. Every informed student of world affairs is agreed that the present depression, the complications of international monetary conditions, the tariff barriers that have been erected, the war debts, reparations, and disarmament are inextricably wrapped up together. Geneva and Lausanne may be two cities; but they are perforce one problem.

Wall Street Finds a Champion

ADDRESSING his fashionable congregation some weeks ago, the Rev. Dr. Robert Norwood, rector of St. Bartholomew's Church in New York City, entered the field of politics with the following observations on the tax measures before Congress:

It seems to me almost an absurdity that Wall Street should be threatened as it is at this hour with the imposition of one of the most unjust taxations in the recent history of political economy. Only an alien spirit could do that. The idea that we are to correct the ills of our country by making the wealthy pay our taxes is destructive of the whole spirit of democracy. Remove from their places of opportunity men who have succeeded by their genius and we shall indeed have a wreck in the heart of the storm now upon us which will beggar all description. . . . Be on your guard against voting *en bloc*. Choose your men and stand by them. And choose only men who stand for spiritual forces and convictions, men and women who represent this soul we call America, men who believe in freedom and liberty. Loving this country as we do, let us buy American products and stand by American forces. Spend your money here. Stand by your leaders and the ideals of your race.

We submit that this sermon represents one of the most brazen examples of truckling to the economic and political prejudices of a wealthy congregation which has come to our notice. Perhaps a few exegetical notes on the sermon are necessary. It was preached shortly after the sales tax was defeated by a bipartisan group of Congressmen under the leadership of Representative La Guardia. Among the substitutes for the sales tax, these Congressmen introduced a tax on stock sales. It is against this tax that the clerical ire is directed and the reference to alien influences is evidently meant for Mr. La Guardia, who is the son of an Italian immigrant.

From the standpoint of both common sense and Christian principles this clerical excursion into the field of politics teems with errors of fact and judgment. Let us enumerate a few:

1. That the defeat of the sales tax and the imposition of a stock tax was brought about by alien influence. The great mass of American citizens arose in arms against the injustice of the sales tax. La Guardia was the leader of this battle in the House only because he happens to be one of the ablest of the liberal Congressmen.

2. That the stock tax is "one of the most unjust taxations in the history of political economy." It has long been a question whether the stock gambling in Wall Street serves any useful purpose. Even if such speculation is not totally useless, a tax on stock sales falls on the comparatively wealthy, while the sales tax which it partially displaced would have taken \$200,000,000 from the pockets of families with in-

comes of less than \$1800 per year, according to reputable economists.

3. That "the idea that we are to correct the ills of our country by making the wealthy pay our taxes is destructive of the whole spirit of democracy." We do not know exactly what this means, but it is a foolish statement, however interpreted. We do not know what the spirit of democracy has to do with rates of taxation aside from the fact that any taxation scheme which tends to equalize wealth has a tendency to preserve democracy, since democratic institutions are everywhere imperiled because they have failed to provide for a sufficiently equitable distribution of the products of industry. Since the rich of this country still pay very much lower rates than the wealthy classes of England and Germany, the remarks of the clerical economist lead to the inference that we are a more perfect democracy than these countries.

4. That a "wreck in the heart of the storm" would result from depriving these men of genius of some of the generous rewards which an anarchic society now grants them. Supposing that these men render a real service to society—a supposition which we consider very questionable—are we to believe that they will leave their country in the lurch if they should cease to receive as much for their labors as they now do? If they have been attending Dr. Norwood's church and have imbibed the "Christian spirit," we could surely expect them to continue sacrificially to render their indispensable leadership to the country even if taxation burdens should force them to close a country home or two and to dismantle their seagoing yachts.

5. That the protection of the privileges of the wealthy is an expression of the "American soul." We do not know just what the American soul is, since it is claimed by every political theorist. One might suspect that this inference of the clerical economist is truer than any of the other affirmations and inferences of his sermon. The critic of America would no doubt agree with him upon this point. But if it is true, it is not anything in which the clergyman should take satisfaction. The Christian tradition in which he professes to stand has nothing to say in support of such an expression of a national soul. Dr. Norwood might profitably read Jesus' remarks as he stood against the temple treasury and saw the rich and the poor deposit their temple taxes. His shrewd observation that the rich, who gave only of their superfluity, gave less than the poor, who gave all they had, could provide valuable insights for any clergyman who addresses himself to the problem of taxation in such a time as this.

Chile Turns Toward Communism

SAMUEL GUY INMAN

WILL the communistic regime enter the New World by establishing itself in South America? With the swift-moving revolution in Chile on June 4, the Western Hemisphere found itself for the first time with a socialistic republic. It is too early to say just how fundamental the socialist program will be, but the communistic theory has been growing rapidly in Chile during the last few years, even among such solid elements as teachers in public schools. And already other South American countries are feeling the influence of the Chilean turn toward socialism, for Chile is recognized as one of the leaders of the South-ern continent.

Chile is called the "shoe-string republic" because it stretches 2,500 miles along the west coast of South America, while its width on the average is less than 100 miles. Beginning only nineteen degrees south of the equator, it stretches away down to the Straits of Magellan, the city of Punta Arenas being the southern-most city in the world. Lord Bryce said that if he were picking a place in which to live, he would select, above any other part of the world, southern Chile, because of the wonderful combination of lakes and snow-covered mountains, resembling the most beautiful parts of Switzerland. The richest part of Chile, however, the part on which the country has largely depended for its revenue, is the northern desert, wrested from Bolivia and Peru in the war of 1879 and 1881; for there are found the most immense nitrate fields in the world, around the control of which has revolved much of the economic and political history of Chile for the last fifty years.

Chile, with four million inhabitants, is one of the most virile countries in America. Its mountains and seacoast, its invigorating climate and its isolation from the rest of the world have given its people a freedom of spirit and a national personality that have made it famous for strength and individuality among the nations of South America. "*Por la razón o por la fuerza*" (by reason or by force) is a national motto that expresses the determination of these people to demand for themselves a generous place under the sun.

The Chilean government has always been conservative since the adoption of the Constitution of 1833, which, with a very few amendments, remained in force until 1925. The centralized aristocratic form of government gave Chile peace while other Spanish American countries were experiencing rapidly-succeeding revolutions. But it established an oligarchy consisting of the owners of great landed estates, and the *rotos*

(ragged fellows, the lower classes) were more and more exploited.

Following the World War, the discontent of the laboring people in Chile was aided by radical agitators from Europe. In 1920 the dissatisfaction with the old oligarchy of a hundred families that had ruled Chile for a century became so strong that a reform president, Sr. Arturo Alessandri, was elected. He established two new portfolios in his cabinet, a Ministry of Labor and a Ministry of Public Health. Factory inspection was introduced, as well as much temperance and labor legislation. Chile literally seethed with new social thought; the newspapers were filled with articles on such questions as the labor movement, social hygiene, temperance, new education, tax reforms, student reforms and votes for women. A new political constitution, which provided for the separation of church and state and contained several measures for social betterment was adopted.

BUT the pace in social reform set by the President and others was too rapid; reaction set in. The reform president was ordered out of the country and a military leader, General Ibañez, succeeded him as president and dictator. Ibañez soon became enamored, as had other South American dictators like Leguia of Peru and Siles of Bolivia, with the industrial program. Money was borrowed by the hundreds of millions from North American bankers; all kinds of privileges were surreptitiously given to North American economic interests; laborers who complained of their conditions and went on strike were cruelly treated by the military; the free press, so long the glory of Chile, was suppressed. Nitrate, the economic mainstay of Chile, was controlled by a corporation called "Cosach," with the government supposedly owning 51 per cent of the shares, but when the situation was finally ferreted out by an angry public it was found that the government had practically sold out its interest to a foreign economic concern. Patience ceased to be a virtue and Ibañez was eliminated from power.

The new president, Sr. Juan Esteban Montero, proved to be disappointingly conservative, suppressing cruelly the manifestations of labor and allowing the Church and other reactionary interests to regain much power. He made an effort to hold control against a tremendous communistic sentiment among the starving laborers and the intellectual group that proposed no longer to suffer control by the old oligarchy. The long strain was becoming unbearable. Chile's

credit, which had always been of the best, now fell to the point where her bonds were selling for \$5.00 on the hundred. Animosities were everywhere prevalent; the hopeful social reformers of ten years before were now set against each other. The position of the workmen, especially those who had been wandering over the country seeking food since the closing of the great nitrate works, became pitiful in the extreme. Spiritual forces were overcome with defeat, and pessimism seemed to be in control.

It was under such extreme poverty and social disorganization that on June 4, 1932, the long expected socialist revolt was effected. President Montero, with little effort, was forced out of the country and a socialist *junta* took charge. The "iron-man" in control was General Marmaduke Grove, an army officer long known for his determination and for his socialistic tendencies. The second member of the *junta*, Carlos Dávila, had been known, while Ambassador to the United States, as a great friend to American business. But on returning to Chile and seeing conditions there, Dávila became the editor of a socialist paper and advocated a reorganization of the government along the lines of state socialism. The third member was Eugenio Matte, connected with the aristocratic Matte family but decidedly opposed to the abuses so long practiced by the wealthy classes. Several of the other cabinet members are of the working class.

Dissension soon developed within the *junta* as to how far Chile should go in nationalizing foreign and domestic properties. The more radical element forced out Carlos Dávila, but on the night of June 16 Colonel Grove was himself surrounded in the presidential palace and forced to surrender to another section of the army, which declared itself in favor of "the maintenance of national socialism divested of communism." The Chilean army, which formerly had an enviable record for staying out of politics, has become accustomed to hold the balance of power by choosing which of the civil leaders it will support. Now, however, the army has become divided within itself, as has the navy, on socialistic as well as political questions.

AMERICAN investments in Chile have grown enormously in the last few years, from \$15,000,000 in 1913 to about \$715,000,000 in 1932 (according to a recent estimate of the State Department). When Mr. Hoover was Secretary of Commerce he recommended to American business firms that they acquire larger interests in Chilean nitrate. The Guggenheim Company bought a large interest in that business and introduced a new process for reducing the raw saliter to the commercial product. In 1930 that firm led in organizing the famous "Cosach" or nitrate trust, which included British, Chilean and American firms as well as the Chilean government. The capi-

talization was for \$375,000,000, and the Guggenheims emerged as the directing force. Since the overthrow of President Ibañez, a Chilean committee appointed to investigate the situation has made sensational charges against the American organizers, charges which were recently aired in the United States Senate investigation of loans to Latin America.

Among the charges made by the Chilean committee, in a long document* were:

First, the depopulation of workmen in the nitrate fields; second, the ruination of commerce in the regions of Tarapaca and Antofagasta; third, the devalorization of private property in those provinces; fourth, the ruination of the railroads of that district; fifth, the depression in agriculture through loss or a considerable decrease in the northern market; almost complete falling off in the shipment of animals, vegetables, cereals, wine, canned goods, and fruits; sixth, an industrial crisis because of the almost total elimination of one of its principal consuming centers; seventh, the adverse effect on the national merchant marine because of decreased shipping from the central and southern districts to the northern zone; and eighth, the enormous decrease in government revenues such as land taxes, commercial taxes, and income tax, and not only in the provinces directly affected but in all the supplying centers of that zone.

The report of the Committee goes on to charge that:

This [reorganization of the nitrate industry] signified the renunciation for 60 years of a tax which for many years had not given less than 200,000,000 pesos per annum. . . . That is the absolute tying up of the nitrate reserves of the state, estimated at 460,000,000 tons, for a period of six decades, for three generations of Chileans. . . .

And thus . . . the treasury burdened itself with the debts of the Nitrate Company of Chile—including the initial loan of \$120,000,000—which reached the sum of 2,000,000,000 pesos, or 400,000,000 more than the total external debt contracted by Chile from the time of its independence up to the year 1927, the first of the Ibañez dictatorship. . . .

In reality Guggenheim Brothers did not have a single peso invested in nitrate, in view of the fact the the interest and amortization on their \$28,000,000 are guaranteed by the state, with the assurance . . . that it would not allow one ton of nitrate to be exported without charging for it sixty pesos for the service of the respective bonds.

These are some of the reasons why the backers of the new government are demanding that the state take over the nitrate enterprise.

THE program of the new regime is still hazy. The two points most frequently mentioned are the confiscation of great estates and the reorganization of the nitrate industry for the benefit of the state. The first proclamation, which now seems to be modified, spoke of confiscation of sterling deposits, with reimbursement at a fixed rate of exchange; the socializa-

* *Sale of Foreign Bonds or Securities in the United States*, from the Hearings Before Committee on Finance, United States Senate, Part 4, Jan. 27 and Feb. 10, 1932, pp. 250-267.

tion of the banking system; state monopolies of oil, matches, sugar, alcohol, iodine, and tobacco; a program of heavy taxation on a large scale, to produce 500,000,000 pesos from large fortunes; freedom from foreign capitalism; control of Chilean commerce, domestic and foreign, with only the social interest considered, but with respect for the Constitution; forbidding of strikes against the government.

The proclamation issued by Don Carlos Dávila, upon his return to power on June 17, after stating that the convention would soon be called to draw up a new constitution, stated that "until the new constitution is promulgated the *junta* will, in all its acts and resolutions, respect generally the laws of the present political constitution and of the Republic, so long as those laws do not contravene the aspirations for progressive reform which animate the nation. It will maintain with all necessary independence the judicial power and respect for international agreements, without failing to secure rapidly modifications for public benefit."

Dávila stated that the aim was to create a purely socialistic state with no connections whatever with either the extreme left or extreme right. It is difficult to say how far Sr. Dávila agrees today with the famous address on North American imperialism which

he delivered in Santiago two years ago, in which he declared:

If there were any American imperialism, I should place myself in the very front rank to combat it. But if at any time such imperialism existed, there is no vestige of it left today. . . . To refuse the assistance of foreign capital and technique in that first stage of our economic development would be just the same as giving up all hope of creating our own capital resources.

It remains to be seen whether the strong individualism of the Chilean character can be overcome by the socialistic scheme, even though urged by the tremendous abuses committed by the capitalistic order. There is, of course, the possibility that the military arm of the regime may shift it to a fascist dictatorship, favorable to the capitalistic order, rather than a dictatorship of the proletariat. It is also possible that the virile Chilean people will be able to work out a middle ground of state socialism, as has Uruguay, suited to the peculiar national life of a people who are among the strongest characters in America. At the time of writing there is no telling what personalities will finally dominate, but the chance of success does not seem promising for any regime that makes the political error of failing to recognize the tremendous socialist sentiment in Chile.

The Menace of Racial Discrimination

RAYFORD W. LOGAN

THE first thirteen years of this country's history laid the foundations for both its greatness and its weakness. Commercial enterprise founded Jamestown. A high moral purpose, on the other hand, motivated many of Massachusetts' early settlers. The year 1619 by a strange coincidence witnessed on the same spot, Jamestown, the first representative assembly on these shores, and the first attempt to create prosperity from the unpaid labor of black bodies. The Epic of America, if I may borrow the phrase but not the interpretation of James Truslow Adams, has, then, been an attempt to reconcile these two sets of conflicting principles: high moral purpose and representative institutions on the one hand, and the desire for gain and the degradation of human beings on the other.

Throughout most of our country's history compromises and fictions have prevented a tragic denouement to this epic. In order to keep Georgia and South Carolina on the firing line in 1776, the framers of the Declaration of Independence had to omit a clause which condemned England for fastening slavery upon the thirteen colonies. The lofty assertion of the equal-

ity of all mankind and of the consent of the governed as the only true source of just governments was clearly a fiction. George Washington, when he took command of the Continental Army in Cambridge, faced a similar anomaly. Here were free black men aiding free white men to gain their independence while these same white men held their black brothers in slavery.

After discounting the suffering of three and a half million human beings—for, as every one knows, black folk do not suffer as white folk do—what a terrible price America has paid! The fiction in the Constitution which counted three white men the equal of five Negroes, the fiction that said that the Constitution did not recognize slavery because it did not use the word slavery, led directly and inevitably to the Missouri Compromise; to Gabriel Prosser's, Denmark Vesey's and Nat Turner's insurrections; to the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act, to the birth of the Republican Party and the emergence of Abraham Lincoln, to John Brown's raid. The nation scoffed at the solemn warning of the freethinker and deist, Thomas Jefferson: "I tremble for my country when I reflect

that God is just." But in 1861, in the words of James Russell Lowell, "the panacea of palaver" had ended. The Civil War is the price that America paid for the fiction that a stable government can be erected on human bondage.

Today, America is confronted with similar fictions. No candidate with national political aspirations dares make a resounding public utterance in favor of even the constitutional rights of Negroes, and both major political parties are more afraid of the Negro question than they are of prohibition. America's policy is as inane as is the proverbial stunt of the ostrich which seeks to evade its foe by hiding its head in the sand. America seeks to solve the Negro question by remaining silent on it.

White and black orators alike are fond of boasting of the undoubted patriotism of the American Negro. Neither Germans nor communists, they declare, have been able to shake the traditional loyalty of men whose ancestors fought at Bunker Hill and at Savannah, at Lake Erie and at New Orleans, who helped to gain their own freedom in the Civil War, who won immortal glory for Theodore Roosevelt in Cuba, who were with Pershing at Carrizal, and who brought back from France the *croix de guerre* and the *fourragère*. It is high time that this fiction were denounced. For, if there is such a thing as a New Negro today, he is characterized essentially by the weakening of his traditional patriotism. Neither Germans nor communists have to wage active propaganda. The American government itself, in its national, state, and municipal politics, seems to be seeking determinedly and purposely to destroy the Negro's love, respect and patriotism. In the War to Make the World Safe for Democracy perhaps the most undemocratic place on the whole war front was the sector where black troops were commanded by Southern white officers. These Negroes hated and despised their officers with a bitterness and an intensity that no amount of propaganda could rouse against either Germans or Austrians. Moreover, when our government ordered that black mothers were not fit to travel on the same boat with white mothers in a last pious visit to America's dead, our government created perhaps more pacifists than all of the organizations have been able to do in the past fifteen years. If American social convention decrees that black mothers must not travel with white mothers, then it is America, and not the communists, that has raised the question whether black soldiers are fit to die by the side of white soldiers.

THE New Negro is becoming increasingly impatient with the fiction that lynching must continue because nothing can be done about it. He is being driven inevitably and in spite of himself to the conclusion that he must meet force with force. The famil-

iar argument that two wrongs do not make a right may sound alluring and convincing in the North, but it loses most of its effectiveness in regions where Negroes are lynched on the false assertions of white women; where Negroes are lynched because they seek to defend their own women against the lust of white fiends; where a black woman is disemboweled of her unborn babe. Sheriffs are derelict in their duty, state executives and legislatures all too often fail to take the proper precautionary measures, or at best guarantee only a legal lynching. The national government washes its hands of the whole sordid thing by invoking the legalistic interpretation that the protection of life is fundamentally within the domain of states' rights. The inaction and the indifference of America, and, I regret to say, even the actual condoning in high places, of the crime of lynching, is producing an unrest that only a miracle can prevent from becoming open revolt.

Moreover, the New Negro is demanding with greater insistence that all parts of the Constitution be enforced. The Fourteenth Amendment declares, among other things, that when the citizens of a state are deprived of the right to vote, the state shall lose proportionately its representation in the electoral college and in the Congress of the United States. Now, as we all know, the South employs all kinds of legal subterfuges and all forms of intimidation to keep the Negro from voting. But the South is able to eat its political pie and have it too. A conservative estimate reckons that the South has some thirty votes in the electoral college and in the Congress in flagrant violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Why, you ask, is this condition permitted to continue? The answer lies in the fact that the courts do not decide political questions. This, they say, is a matter which Congress alone can enforce. And apparently, only the Hon. Mr. Tinkham, of Massachusetts, is concerned with its enforcement. As a consequence, that part of the Fourteenth Amendment is a dead letter, a fiction. But can a nation expend millions for the enforcement of one amendment while conniving at the flagrant violation of another part which is perhaps more fundamental, and still expect to maintain the love and respect of a large body of its citizens?

PERHAPS the greatest fiction of all concerning the Negro is the assertion that he can be educated and withal contented. Of course, barriers are constantly being erected and maintained, even in the North; and yet considerable progress is being made, in view of the almost total lack of previous provision. But there are those who are convinced that the South is not yet won to the necessity of Negro education. The Southern states are largely in the control of the so-called poor whites, who are fundamentally afraid of the black man's competition. Thus in South Carolina, where

Negroes constitute more than one-half of the population, they receive one-tenth of the total appropriation for education.

The stages in the education of an oppressed people are fascinating. First they learn that, traditionally, the Roman plebeians won their first political rights by refusing to wage war against the enemy until these rights were granted. They learn that the vice, corruption and confusion of the *ancien régime* resulted in the French Revolution. They discover that the American Revolution was fought because of the intolerable grievances imposed by the mother country. Most of them learn only the facts. Some, however, integrate them into the conclusion that at different times in the world's history people have been ready to risk death to gain their freedom and their independence. Still fewer see a similarity between their own situation and that of the Roman plebeian, the Spartan helot, the Irish, French and Russian peasant. And a small minority are determined to do something about it.

They realize fully that twelve millions cannot even hope to wrest by violence from 110 millions a recognition of even their constitutional rights, especially when perhaps half of the twelve millions are too ignorant to be dissatisfied, and when it is almost impossible for them to procure arms to defend their homes. But the dissatisfaction, the discontent, the determination to do something is growing. Whither this will lead, only the foolhardy dare predict.

A growing number are appreciating the increasing gravity of the situation. In order to mitigate any decided unrest the attempt is being made to establish good will between black and white. Certainly this is a commendable objective. The fundamental question, however, is this: What is to be the basis for this good will? Is it to rest on segregation, disfranchisement, travesty of justice in the courts, lynching, and white supremacy? Or is good will to be used as a means of removing these grievances? In other words, is good will the end or the means? If it is the end, it is a fiction. If it is the means, the New Negro will rally to its support.

OF course, no one expects the Bourbon South to forget its heritage overnight. But is it making any progress? Unfortunately, I believe that no one can say. For every instance of progress there is an instance of retrogression, both North and South. My own conclusion is that but little progress is being made. At best the dominant attitude in most sections of the country is exemplified by the recourse of referring to the Negro as a "nigra"—a term employed by some liberal white Southerners who dare not insult a black audience by using the more opprobrious epithet, but who likewise dare not insult the fetish of white supremacy by saying Negro.

It would seem, then, that the future of this country depends upon the race between Negro education, which makes the Negro more dissatisfied, more determined and more qualified to enjoy the rights of all other American citizens, and white education, which will enable the masters to recognize these rights. If the black advances more quickly than the white, if twelve millions believe that they are Negroes while most of their 110 million white fellows still look upon them as "nigras," no one will be able to avert a holocaust to prove, as the Civil War did, that this country cannot long endure half oppressed and half oppressor.

The advance in Negro education is not to be measured merely in terms of the abolition of illiteracy, of the establishment of great centers of academic learning like Atlanta University and Dillard University in the heart of the South. Nor is the real significance to be grasped in computing the number of Negroes receiving the degree of Master of Arts and of Doctor of Philosophy from the great Northern and Western universities. The results of education are revealed rather in the attitude one takes toward his position in society.

The rapidity of this change in attitude is strikingly indicated by the fact that today Dr. Robert Russa Moton, long heralded as the arch-exponent of conservatism, occupies, in the light of his *What the Negro Thinks* and of his recent speech on being awarded the Spingarn Medal, a position in all essentials that of Dr. DuBois twenty years ago. And Dr. DuBois, condemned as conservative by many Negroes, is forced to take his cue from the radicals instead of leading them as in the past. Finally, a symposium of Negro newspaper editors on the subject of communism, conducted by *The Crisis*, shows clearly that many of them at least admit the possibility of communism as a remedy for the grave injustices from which Negroes in this country suffer. There are probably not more than fifteen thousand actual Negro communists in America; but the number is steadily increasing especially among Negro workers in the Northern and border states. And it is safe to say that the great majority of Negro students, except those in the church schools of the South, are at least "pink."

Of course, the Negro who blatantly proclaims the secular patriotism of his own people is hailed as a patriot and is given the accolade of approval by 100 per cent Americans; and the Negro who warns that America itself is destroying this patriotism is labeled a radical and a communist. I submit, however, that the latter Negro is the true patriot. He calls on America to awaken while there is yet time to gird itself to the task of removing these fictions and of establishing the supremacy of high moral purpose and truly representative institutions above the desire to gain by the degradation of human beings.

A Radical Challenge to Christians

JOHN LINE

TO be thorough, to get at the bottom or root of things, to strive after fundamental understanding and order one's attitude thereby—this, justified by the etymology of the term, is the method of radicalism. Radicalism is not violence or iconoclasm; it is simply the habit of delving down to reality and building one's judgments upon it. The antithesis of radicalism is not conservatism; one can be radical and conservative at the same time; indeed, one cannot truly be either without at the same time being the other. The opposite of radicalism is any way of regarding a condition of things or of seeking to effect adjustments in that condition that fails to take account of the inner or deep-lying factors, so that, whatever may result in the way of meliorative benefits, one can never be sure that the enterprise is being advanced essentially or that one has come to grips with the real elements of the problem. Put another way, radicalism is a teleological function; it is the course or process being ruled by the end, so that whatever is done, however slight, is a step on the way thereto. Radical activity may often be less spectacular or cause less friction at the surface than activity that is not radical; but it is surer in direction, and along its deeper, if more silent, courses lies the path of progress.

That the method of radicalism is the one proper to Christians, no one will be likely to deny. Whatever his problem or task may be, the Christian should touch not the fringe of the issues that face him, but he should lay bare their realities and by their guidance persevere steadily toward his goal. Christianity's way with evil should be to root up, not to apply palliatives. No candid student of the Gospels can fail to acknowledge that Jesus exhibits precisely those qualities of penetration and courageousness of purpose that we have designated above as the marks of radical-mindedness. In his great grasp of seminal principles and in the singleness of his self-devotion, he is excelled by none.

The radical outlook of Jesus can be appreciated if we note the influence upon him of apocalyptic doctrines. A chief element of this belief was the expectation that the present world-age was soon to be ended, and God would at once establish a new order in its place. Just how far Jesus shared in this conception it is not easy to decide, but there is plainly visible in his thought its principle of tension, the strain as of one who is astride two worlds, the one already marked for dissolution, the other in the throes of being born. It is in this birth of the new divine order that man's hope lies, so that

Jesus is led to portray man's destiny as a fundamental renewal. The tension or conflict of worlds can be resolved only as men repent, become other-minded, and as human relationships are essentially remolded to conform to the pattern of the world that is about to be. Apocalyptic expectations in the time of Jesus helped men to feel that when evil and injustice are inwrought in the texture of things, their removal requires no trifling applications but rebuilding on fresh foundations. Thus it had part in creating the radical spirit. It underlay the crisis ideology in the mind of Jesus himself, by which he envisaged the new righteous order, not as one which would evolve out of the old, but one to be realized through the rejection of the old.

To Christian men and women this conception in itself constitutes a radical challenge. For if a new ordering of life, a complete transposition of human conditions, was what Jesus felt to be needed to achieve righteousness, then we too, if we are to be his followers, must espouse like projects and urge like demands, unless it can be shown that the world is now so different that the achieving of justice is no longer a basal undertaking. This means in the social and economic field, that unless we are satisfied that its major processes, while capable of minor correction here and there, yet are on the whole serving the general welfare and are establishing just and harmonious human relations—unless we are assured of this, we can be loyal to Jesus only if we strive to transform the economic order so that its processes will be given this character.

THERE are two of these elements in the teachings of Jesus that bear particularly on modern social and economic problems. If it can be shown that their application in economic affairs would entail drastic revision of our business ethics, of our ways of carrying on our economic activity, then Christians are by virtue of their recognition of the truth of Christ's teachings committed to this revision. The two principles are these: the sacredness and supreme worth of human life, and the unworthiness and moral dangers of the desire for material things. Jesus stressed the first by making the test of institutions, even those divinely ordained like the Sabbath, their contribution to human well-being. It is the human quality in men that matters, not position or rank to which some only may attain; the "little ones" and the "least of these" count equally with the exalted and great. Jesus enforces the second principle by warning against the seductiveness

of riches, and by forbidding not only covetousness but even anxiety over material wants.

In what measure, now, are our present industrial order and our social habits in agreement or disagreement with these principles? Only a superman or a man resigned to starvation could have a place in the present-day competitive world without, not merely feeling anxious about his material fortunes, but giving major attention to them. The very nature of competition entails this; for it is psychologically inevitable that competing for a thing should whet the appetite for it, if only for the sake of satisfying the will to power. Hence, in order to live or win his spurs before his fellows, a man in business sets his eye without more ado on that from which Jesus bade him turn away. Our economic individualism, in other words, has the tendency to evoke a reaction upon conditions of life that is radically unchristian. It reverses the values enjoined by Jesus, causing material success to appear, not something the seeker after the Kingdom finds "added" to him, but the precondition of further opportunity, and making the non-rich envious of those for whom Jesus felt commiseration.

Under the capitalistic system the worker's right to work, to maintain himself and his self-respect by honorable exertion, is subject to the interest of those who own the industrial equipment. Thus, not what he may need to fulfil his life, but his economic utility to someone else, determines whether a man shall be employed or not. Such a condition is incompatible with what Jesus taught about human welfare and dignity; for his teaching would at least entail each man's right to the opportunity to provide himself through his own effort with the essentials of life. Nothing could be more unchristian than the denial of this right—a denial that inheres in our present-day industrialism; and which makes the worker's connection with his occupation so factitious as to bar from his mind any interest in it for its own sake or appreciation of its social value. Treated as an instrument in another's scheme for gain, he reciprocates by valuing his own work in turn solely by the wage it brings.

SEEN in this way, our industrial system exhibits need for adjustment which no Christian, loyal to his creed of values as well as dogmas, can dutifully neglect. To work for a better spirit in individuals is necessary, but it is not enough so long as there are organic or corporate sources of human ills. For industrial or social organization is not a thing apart from personal responsibility; it is a mode of men's relations to one another, and as such is as proper a field as private behavior for the practice of Christian standards of right. Christians, therefore, are called upon to add to their other tasks a crusade toward the structural transforming of our society into one in

which social and economic processes will be directed toward welfare-seeking rather than wealth-seeking; economic techniques will become agencies of human liberation instead of increasing the weight of human misery, as the coming of the machine sometimes seems to have done; and the divisive social influences that result from the presence in industry of dominant and dependent groups will be superseded by a fraternalism in which all shall join in an effort to satisfy the common need.

It is because her policies are not radical that the Church faces a dilemma today. Everybody knows the doubt the social worker or reformer constantly feels regarding the net effect of philanthropy, and one cannot avoid asking whether such philanthropy does not accomplish in the end more harm than good, through making a bad system momentarily a little less intolerable and so postponing the more effective social rectification. This doubt attends a great many other piecemeal social measures. Unless they are congruous with or constituent parts of a program looking toward the full realization of the social good, unless their character and direction show prevision of the end—a hallmark of radicalism by our former characterization—then, whatever may be their proximate fruitage, no one can be sure that they are not delaying far greater blessings and may not help finally to cheat mankind of them altogether.

This point can be brought even nearer to the Christian man's concern. What about Christian missionary enterprises? Already events are making it clear that we have given knowledge to uncivilized peoples, but not Christ's Gospel; we have taught them love of wealth and power, but not Christian love. We have taken to the non-Christian world our divisions and rivalries, and we are reproducing there the confusion and sectional-mindedness that desolate the Church at home. A missionary once told me that the nations of the West have been inoculated with a mild form of Christianity that has made them proof against the real thing. This being so, are we not likely to do the same for other parts of the world? I say these things, not to belittle missionary endeavor, but to emphasize the thought that without a fundamental conception and grasp of her mission the Church has no means of assessing the things she is doing, and nothing less than this will equip her with the unity and directness that alone can project her on the sure way toward her goal.

It is, then, on these three grounds that we urge upon Christians a radical purpose and a radical *faith*: the pioneering spirit of Jesus; the demand for bold leadership in the present bewilderment if hope is to be re-awakened in men; and the need of a re-affiliation with the *real* fundamentals of its calling, which the Church must seek if it is to overcome uncertainty and futility and regain its potent place in the life of the world.

Not in the Headlines

Friends are invited to share with our readers their own discoveries of significant news items.

Six Millions on \$13 a Month

The allowance paid to the 6,000,000 unemployed in Germany has been reduced to an average of \$13 per month per family.

Abandonment of Gold Standard Predicted

A confidential letter recently sent out by one of the financial advisory concerns predicts that by the end of July the United States will abandon the gold standard and that the dollar will drop about 40 per cent.

China Moves Toward Military Conscription

One tragic result of Japanese aggression in Manchuria and at Shanghai has been the adoption by the Nanking government of the general principle of requiring military service from all male citizens between the ages of 18 and 40.

Number of Stockholders Increases

In spite of the prolonged economic depression, the number of stockholders in the United States has increased 41 per cent, from 4,133,267 to 5,847,651, reports R. G. Dun and Company, after compiling data from 346 companies in 31 industries.

A Mental Olympic

Los Angeles will be the scene of a gigantic council of youth, which is scheduled to follow the Olympic games in August. Ten days will be devoted by young people of all nations to a discussion of world attitudes toward economics, education, religion, philosophy and international politics.

Per Capita Debt

The comparative public debt per head of population, as estimated by a London correspondent of the United Press, in British pounds, is as follows: Britain, 160; Germany, 96; France, 89; Switzerland, 48; Italy, 41; Belgium, 37; Norway, 30; Holland, 28; United States, 27; Mexico, 26.

Thirty Millions Burned

During the past year the government of Brazil, in order to increase the price of coffee, has burned seven million bags, valued at \$30,000,000. Another seven million are now on hand awaiting destruction. Funds for the purchase of the coffee to be burned are secured from a tax of five francs per bag on coffee exported from the State of Sao Paulo.

Four Million U. S. Negroes Disfranchised

According to United States census figures compiled for 1930, and reprinted in the *Kansas City Call*, nearly two-thirds of the Negroes in the United States of voting age are disfranchised. All of these disfranchised citizens live in a few states of the South and the District of Columbia. The total Negro voting population of the United States is 6,531,939 or nine per cent of the general population, but it amounts to only three per cent when diminished by disfranchisement. The Negro population of voting age which lives in states where it is not disfranchised is 2,441,067.

Steel: The Barometer of Industry

For fourteen consecutive months the volume of unfilled orders of the United States Steel Corporation has decreased. During May the entire steel industry operated at 20 per cent of capacity.

A Tennessee Mayor Speaks for the Negro

Mayor Ben B. Swopes, of Johnson City, Tennessee, recently vetoed a \$600 appropriation for a library in that city on the ground that "the Negroes of Johnson City should not be taxed for the purpose of furnishing a library for the white citizens unless a library is also furnished for the Negroes."

The Depression is Psychological

A survey undertaken by the United States Bureau of Census reveals that the average number of families per month receiving relief outside of institutions increased from 333,861 in the first quarter of 1929 to 1,287,778 during the same period in 1931, or 285 per cent. The average of the total number of persons in families aided increased from 1,340,349 to 5,241,817, or 291 per cent. During the same period the average number of lodgings per month given to homeless men increased from 421,103 to 1,482,342, or 252 per cent, and the average number of meals served from 671,419 to 4,170,318, an astounding increase of 521 per cent.



From the New York Times

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

Events and the Man

The History of the Russian Revolution. By Leon Trotsky. Simon and Schuster. \$4.00.

STALIN may have rendered both Trotsky and posterity a service by banishing him to Turkey and forcing upon him the leisure which that fiery spirit is now using to prove that he has a touch of real genius in the field of history and of letters as well as in the field of revolutionary leadership. We doubt whether any participant in a great epoch of history ever wrote about the events which he helped to fashion with greater insight and illumination. No one can deny, after reading this book, that Trotsky is an intellect of the first magnitude.

This first volume carries the story from the February to the October revolution. By devoting 450 pages to these nine months, Trotsky gives us a very detailed account of the forces at work in the revolution, but he is never lost in the detail. His main thesis is always apparent; namely, that the workers were responsible for the February revolution; that neither the disaffected nobles who contemplated a palace revolution nor the middle classes in the Duma who played with the idea of a democratic revolution had the will or the power to give the rotten structure of czarism its death throe. The workers with the help of the soldiers did it. The description of the early hostility between workers and soldiers and the gradual rapprochement between them, beginning with a friendly wink from a Cossack and the tentative crawling of a worker under the belly of the Cossack's horse, is a marvelous piece of description in social psychology. The revolution, once accomplished, was taken over from the workers by the bourgeoisie because the various radical parties—Social Revolutionists, Mensheviks and Bolsheviks—lacked the statesmanship to carry it through or were actually afraid of the logical consequences of a real revolution. The bourgeois regime of the provisional government used Kerensky as a mild radical veil for its reaction. The real power was in the hands of the Soviets from the beginning, but they wasted their energies in alternate connivance with and resistance to the policies of the provisional government.

Trotsky holds that the ultimate triumph of the Soviets was inevitable but that the statesmanship of Lenin was required to reveal its inevitability. The soldiers wanted peace, and the provisional government was intent upon continuing the war under the guise of protecting the revolution. The peasants wanted land, and the provisional government left the landlords undisturbed. The workers sought release from intolerable conditions, and were met with the weapon of lockouts. In such a situation it was necessary only to raise the standard of revolt against the provisional government, and the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers would flock to the standard—and they did. That is Trotsky's thesis.

In giving Lenin the credit for seeing what none of the other Bolshevik leaders (Kamenev, Stalin, Tomsy, et al.) could see, Trotsky modestly refrains from emphasizing his own part in shaping the policy of the Bolshevik Party, but he does use his opportunity to score off his enemies and to put them into the category of anti-Leninists. His account is of course not unbiased; but the bias is not nearly as obvious and his spleen not as apparent as in his previous and more personal account, *My Life*. Trotsky alternately glorifies his two heroes, Lenin and the average proletarian. The one crystallized the thought and directed the energy of the other. About the relation of the two forces, personal and impersonal, he writes: "It remains to ask . . . how would the revolution have developed had Lenin not reached Russia in April 1917? If our exposition proves anything, we hope it proves that Lenin was not a demiurge of the revolutionary process, that he merely entered into a chain of objective historical forces. But he was a great link in the chain. . . . Until his arrival not one of the Bolshevik leaders dared to make a diagnosis of the revolution. . . . His personal influence shortened the crisis. Is it possible however to say positively that the party without him would have found its road? We would by no means make bold to say that. . . . Dialectic materialism has nothing in common with fatalism."

Taking all the factors of the Russian situation into consideration, Trotsky's thesis is convincing. What happened in Russia need not be inevitable for political structures which vary greatly from the Russian one, and it may have been logical in Russia without having been inevitable. But Trotsky's brilliant analysis reinforces the conviction that what happened in Russia was due neither to historical caprice nor to the genius of one man.

R. N.

Race, Class, and Party

Race, Class, and Party. By Paul Lewinson. Oxford Press. \$3.75.

PAUL LEWINSON'S book, *Race, Class, and Party*, is just what the jacket announcement says it is: "the first complete and detailed account of Negro suffrage" in the United States, and especially in the Southern states.

The second half of the volume brings the record right down to the last presidential campaign, the events following the election of Hoover, and the activities of the off-year Congressional election in 1930. The rise and wane of Mr. Hoover's "white Republican Party" ambitions for the South are vividly portrayed. For the first time we can all get behind the scenes and understand the "righteous" indignation of the present Administration against "corruption" in Southern Republicanism, when we see that it was aimed principally at ousting the machines in those states where the Negro leaders had some influence in the party's affairs. The powerful Bob Church, the astute Perry Howard, the shrewd and

eternal "Goose-neck" Bill McDonald, and the irrepressible Ben Davis are for the first time portrayed in their true political colors, and the reasonable motives that produced them and that serve as springs for their past and present activities are exposed. The author describes the rise, the prevalence, the decline and the extinction of that short-lived species of biped known as the "Hoovercrat."

White Southern politics is clearly portrayed as the background and natural basis of the Negro's political record: before the Civil War the whites showed normal bi-partisan tendencies; after emancipation and "reconstruction" the fear of Negro domination as a balance of power and the natural desire to nullify as far as possible as the Fourteenth Amendment caused the submergence of all economic differences among the whites, the creation of a real "white man's party" in politics and the prostitution of all statesmanship to racial ambitions. It sometimes seems that Mr. Lewinson is almost in sympathy with this natural desire for racial advantage, but his faithful recording of facts allows the reader to draw independent conclusions.

We are led to wonder at all the strange and contradictory phenomena which transpire when a dominant people try to support law and to maintain "race superiority" at the same time, such as the undemocratic centralization of governmental power in the Southern states whereby the preponderant white counties (as in Alabama) can really elect the rulers and local officers of the black counties and so prevent the Negro population from having the slightest hope of self-determination. This is one example of how the presence of the Negro and the desire to deny him equality has made the South contradict its own political theories as exhibited in its passionate fight for local and states' rights. It also explains why the universally conservative Republican Party in the North is the more progressive of the two parties in the South.

This book also explains the "white primary" and shows the awful limitations of Negro life which result from that race's relative lack of suffrage. The volume closes with about seventy pages of invaluable statistical tables, digests of Southern suffrage laws, and references. It is indispensable to all those who want to understand, or who have to deal with, "the Negro in politics."

WILLIAM PICKENS

Money and Democracy's Elections

Money and Politics Abroad. By James Kerr Pollock, Ph.D. Knopf. \$3.50.

WHEN democracy turns to its electoral machinery, money talks; and, it appears, suffers few linguistic inhibitions. For in this work, Professor Pollock, who published his excellent work on *Party Campaign Funds* a few years ago, now assesses the rôle of the loud-voiced ruler in three foreign countries—Great Britain, Germany, and France. But the usefulness of this book is great here at home; for not only does the author point his findings every now and then at his own country, but he has been forced to revise some of his previous conclusions on the basis of more experience. For example, no longer does Professor Pollock believe that "the rate of political expenditure in America is not as high as it is in the United Kingdom"; rather, he declares: "Larger sums are expended in Germany than in either of the other two European countries, but in France, on the other hand, although political expenditures are kept down to a relatively low level, many of them are of a kind which would not be considered proper in Britain. Moreover, expenditures for political purposes

are more efficiently used in England and more wastefully used in Germany. In none of the three countries, however, do we find as much money spent on elections as in the United States."

Most significant of all, perhaps, is the fact that, with a few exceptions, the contributors to political party funds are few, powerful, often vested interests, even industries almost *in toto*. The exceptions, be it noted, are found behind the Labor or Socialist parties, which make public all their financial matters to the last detail, and which, also, are financed democratically. The German Social Democratic Party is cited by Professor Pollock as providing a mode of escape from the bribery, corruption, and general venality that exist all but universally, from the secret purchasing of the French press by reactionaries to the underwriting of British Tories by the liquor trade.

There is excellent campaign material in this volume for Socialists, for the record gives the lie to those ubiquitous cynics who profess to think that economic radicals, once grown powerful in organization, are no more ethical and no less venal than their adversaries.

DEVERE ALLEN

"These Are Thy Miners"

Miner. By Frederick C. Boden. Dutton. \$2.50.

WHEN a miner-poet who began his career underground as a lad of thirteen, and who some ten years later published his first volume, was taken from the pit and sent off to a university, one of two things was bound to happen. He would either go academic and lose his authentic poet's insight and power of expression—or he would remember, and remembering pay his debt to those he had left behind to "the daily descent into peril, the darkness, the pain."

Remembrance has laid its compelling hand upon the poet Boden:

"Days thou thought'st dead shall be at thee—old pit-days
and drear figures scrambling,
Fetid, low galleries—the rumble of down-sliding shale;
Darkness and silence; then voices—thick, pain-stricken
voices rambling:
'What hast thou done for us comrade? Hast spoken?
Hast told thou our tale?'"

Now the poet turns to the writing of a novel, and the spirit is the same as that which moves through the lyrics of his two volumes of colliery verse. The characters are his fellows, living in the Welsh mining village of Chesterfield. The wet west wind that blows coldly over Wales on the first page of the novel chills the marrow of the author as he writes. He has felt it. The narrow, cobbled street, very narrow, very badly cobbled, has been his street not so long since. The brown-eyed Danny who is sent shamed to the pawnshop may have been himself. Danny's small dark mother with the big sunken eyes was perhaps his mother.

Danny is fourteen in November—ready for work. Where? In the pit. "Not there!" breathes his mother in horror. She knows the pit. She has seen her brother, a healthy, powerful man of thirty, crushed there beneath the falling earth. "Not there!"

"Go if you like," says his father, not unkindly. It will mean fifteen shillings a week. Danny's mother sits silent and white. The affair lies between her man and her boy. But she knows the pit. Her old muslin blouse trembles. Tom knows the pit too. But he is a man.

So she "sees after" Danny's mine clothes for him and cooks his first four-o'clock breakfast and watches him off. Mother is tremulous and white but—mother.

"Take care of thyself, Danny, won't tha?"

He promises but how can he keep his promise? At the pit all is so big and dark and he so small and helpless. His first day: the strange, new world; the dark tunnels, the water constantly dripping somewhere, the air smelling close and cold, he himself, pushing empty cars, his legs beginning to ache. Only five hours more.

A year passes. Danny is still pushing the little coal wagons in the pit, working always between the darkness in front that keeps always just a little ahead and the darkness behind that creeps after him close on his heels. He has a pony to drive now through the long tunnels, a beautiful little chestnut pony taken willy-nilly from the sun and the flowers and the grass, from the rain, the rivers and the trees, and made to drag coal wagons along dark dusty tunnels—till it is maimed or dead or goes blind.

So the story progresses—if story it is. Say rather, so the life of the boy Danny progresses. At fifteen the dreadful shadow of death underground in the darkness begins casting its pall over him. And the shadow never leaves him. It has not left the author—even in his university. Life underground closed in upon him once and for all time. He must have lived, like Danny, through the futile strike, the strike against the extra hour and the reduced wage. Another hour for a man to be doubled up in a coal-seam, another hour of eye-strain and muscle-wrack, another hour of daylight taken away and replaced by an hour of darkness. Each man taking home a smaller wage, to watch the women folks' eyes grow a little more hopeless and the children's faces leaner than before. There is a cold, mad rage in Danny's heart and in the heart of every other miner as well. They strike. But in vain. There is no sign of yielding on the owners' side. They bring in the police. They grimly wait. The men give in. Life is sweeter than death—though God alone knows why!—and seventeen hungry wageless weeks, weeks of hopeless waiting outside the door of humanity are enough for anyone, especially when wives and children are waiting too.

It is a great book. Beauty is in it—Danny feels the "immanence of beauty" on the hillsides all about, but it is beauty which he is denied. Beauty for the Welsh miner is measured and limited by property rights, property rights that are not his. Love and marriage, the founding of a wee bright home, the begetting and rearing of children—not for him. "I cannot ask thee, lass." There's no money for it all—and none to earn when times are slack.

"God," prays the poet, "these are Thy miners. These are Thy miners who go down into Thine earth out of the light of Thy sun. Hours are lengthened and wages are lessened in their honour. O help Thou Thy miners in their dreadful need, God."

HELEN G. MURRAY

For Those Who Seek Understanding

Rebel India. By H. N. Brailsford. The New Republic, Inc. \$1.00.

WRITTEN while the civil disobedience movement of 1930 was at its height, this volume by an eminent British publicist is one of the most illuminating yet published. It is especially valuable at the present time when more than 50,000 Indian patriots have joined Mahatma Gandhi in jail.

Mr. Brailsford is one of the ablest reporters and most lucid writers of this generation. He was recognized as a friend by Indian nationalists and was accorded a welcome seldom surpassed. Yet throughout his interpretation of events there breathes the spirit of a social scientist bent upon discovering and presenting the truth.

The author emphasizes his conviction that political self-government for India is highly desirable and absolutely inevitable; but he stresses the economic liberation of the masses as even more imperative. His description of poverty and squalor in village and slum alike become indelible impressions. Long after political freedom has been achieved, the deliverers of India must struggle against greed and ignorance and tradition.

This book is probably the most rewarding one available for American readers who desire to understand the social forces underneath and behind the non-violent revolution which is now rocking the British Empire, and which will soon achieve political autonomy for India. K. P.

1776 - 1932

The Epic of America. By James Truslow Adams. Little, Brown and Co. \$3.00.

The Tempo of Modern Life. By James Truslow Adams. Albert and Charles Boni. \$3.00.

THERE have been so many reviews of *The Epic of America* that I will call attention only to its significance for social radicalism. One might easily regard this important book as prolegomena to American socialism. No doubt the author would repudiate such an interpretation of it. He is at heart, as some of his other writings show, an aristocrat and is too much interested in cultural escapes from the economic problem to follow out the radical implications of this portrait of America.

The book gets unity from the fact that it is a history of what the author calls the "American Dream"—"that dream of a land in which life should be better and richer and fuller for every man, with opportunity for each according to his ability and achievement." That was the dream of those who have migrated to America from the beginning. It was the dream of Thomas Jefferson and many of the founders of the republic. It was the dream of the frontier at every stage as it moved from the Hudson River to the Pacific Ocean. It was not the dream of Hamilton and his followers, who distrusted the common man and who already thought in terms of concentrated power and wealth. Jefferson saw the possibility of fulfilling the dream only in a simple, agricultural society with the frontier never far away.

Mr. Adams shows that the basic problem which has confronted America throughout its history is presented by the fact that Hamilton has had his way in the development of American industrialism, whereas our American dream is based upon the ideal of Jefferson. So long as there was a frontier, there was a place where men might find the equality of opportunity denied them in a more developed society. But today our only frontier is our overseas possessions in which that dream is more completely denied than at home.

Though Mr. Adams does recognize the seriousness of the post-War situation, blaming especially the blindness of Coolidge, Mellon and Hoover in face of the approaching depression, he is not as realistic about the present as he is about the past. The failure of the government to provide for the common man in the persons of the unemployed, the bankruptcy of the party of Jefferson, the absence of any program among political or business leaders for preventing the recurrence of the depression, the helplessness of organized labor, and the ruthlessness of the class struggle—such facts create problems for those who believe in the American dream, as Mr. Adams does, which demand more radical solutions than he contemplates.

Nevertheless, in this book Mr. Adams shows, perhaps without realizing it, how organic the aims of American radicals are to the

deepest spirit of America. It is not difficult to see who are the real children of the American Revolution.

The Tempo of Modern Life is a collection of miscellaneous essays which have already appeared in various periodicals. The subjects range from Emerson to the false prophecies of Hoover and Mellon. Criticism of American life is always interesting, but Mr. Adams is usually more offended by vulgarity than by injustice. The essay on diminishing returns in modern life, though containing much truth, is suggestive as an argument for aristocratic privilege which it is hard to reconcile with the "American Dream". Perhaps the most profound chapter is "Emerson Reread," in which Mr. Adams shows that those who come back to Emerson in middle life find that the spell has gone chiefly because of Emerson's blindness to the tragedy of life.

JOHN C. BENNETT

Room for Improvement

Some Educational Factors Affecting the Relations between Canada and the United States. By Arthur A. Hauck. Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 100 pp. Cloth, \$1.00; paper, \$.50.

CANADIANS and Americans are fond of lecturing the more backward nations of Europe on the peaceful methods by which we settle all international difficulties in North America. If peace is based upon mutual understanding between peoples, our educational institutions have still a good deal of useful work to do. Dean Hauck has been making a study of the amount of knowledge possessed by senior high-school pupils in Canada and the United States concerning their neighboring country. He submitted a questionnaire to classes in history and geography in a selected list of schools and also asked the pupils to write a brief essay. The results which he has tabulated in this pamphlet can hardly be said to be encouraging. Of the two groups, the Canadian students were easily superior, but their scores were nothing to boast about. Sixty-four per cent of the Canadians had visited in the States and 76 per cent of them had relatives there, which may account for their greater knowledge. Eighty-nine per cent of them read American newspapers or magazines, while 96 per cent of the Americans never saw a Canadian publication. Only 28 per cent of the Americans had ever been in Canada and only 14 per cent of them had relatives there. When asked to name five great men in Canadian history, only 27 per cent of the American pupils made the attempt, and the names they gave were mostly of early explorers; 95 per cent of the Canadians were able to name famous Americans, and half of them had read a biography of Lincoln. Only 14 per cent of the Americans knew the name of the Canadian Prime Minister, and several of them thought that the office was held by Ramsay MacDonald, Lloyd George or Stanley Baldwin. On the subject of the League of Nations 39 per cent of the American pupils said that Canada was not a member and 21 per cent did not attempt an answer. Forty per cent said that Canada cannot deal with the United States without the consent of the British Parliament. Only 26 per cent gave approximately correct answers concerning the form of the Canadian government; only 21 per cent knew that Ottawa is the Canadian capital. Three per cent had heard of the Rush-Bagot agreement, and not a single one knew anything about the International Joint Commission. But why continue? On examining the text-books used by the two groups of students, Dean Hauck found that the Canadian ones treat the relations of the two nations much more fully than the American ones. His questionnaire revealed that what most of the American pupils had read about Canada outside of text-books were stories about the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. That once-famous

body is now chiefly engaged in hunting down "reds." When Americans learn of this, the R.C.M.P. will no doubt become even more popular with their school children.

FRANK H. UNDERHILL

Rural Sociology

The Populist Revolt. By John D. Hicks. University of Minnesota Press. 473 pages. \$4.00.

Village and Open-Country Neighborhoods. By Walter A. Terpenning. Century Company. 493 pages. \$4.00.

THESE two ample and scholarly volumes, although differing widely in style and approach, bear a complementary relation to each other. Professor Hicks is a careful historian who reveals the essence of that revolutionary spirit which has at times animated American farmers. The first and last chapters of *The Populist Revolt* show him to be an excellent interpreter of cultural phenomena as well as a skilled historian. The first is called "The Frontier Background," and although it follows fairly accurately the pattern set down by Turner and elaborated more recently by Adams, Professor Hicks manages to add some subtle meanings of his own. The last chapter, entitled "The Populist Contribution," emphasizes the impact which the Populist Movement exerted upon Nineteenth Century political and economic thought, and shows how that impact succeeded in altering the current in the direction of popularization of government. One wishes that the author had gone a step further and indicated the future effect of this influence during the years of radical transformation which now seem so imminent.

Professor Hicks has performed a splendid service in revealing the extent to which farm women influenced the thought of their time even before they were equipped with the ballot. His volume is one which students of agriculture and country life, as well as students of American political and economic development, will turn to with real profit.

Village and Open-Country Neighborhoods deals not with the historic but with the contemporary social process as it emerges in rural life. Professor Terpenning starts with the basic inquiry: "Is the characteristically European mode of country life more efficient than the American?" By "efficient" he means socially effective. The European farmer, with certain important exceptions in the North, lives in villages, whereas the American farmer resides on his acres. Professor Terpenning furnishes concise and meaningful descriptions of the American neighborhood, the Swiss, French and Italian *commune*, the English parish, the German *dorf*, the Irish neighborhood, the Danish *sogn*, and the Russian *mir*. Fortunately, he has been able to draw upon first-hand observation in addition to a well-selected set of references.

Professor Terpenning's conclusion, summarily stated, is that country life in America has suffered socially by reason of the isolation of the farm-owner living on his land. He foresees certain advantages in the creation of a new concept for the American country neighborhood—a plan involving the incorporation of some European principles. The author closes his description with words of fervor and enthusiasm. "This, then," he says, "is the kind of rural neighborhood which at some time in the future must supply its members with congenial employment, with recreative leisure, a comfortable subsistence, relief in want, sickness, and distress, protection from within and without, and full opportunity for religious, moral, and intellectual culture." Whether one agrees with his diagnosis or not, no one concerned for the future of country life in America can fail to share Professor Terpenning's hopes and aspirations.

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN

WE RECOMMEND

The Functioning of the Gold Standard. By Dr. Feliks Milynarski. A League of Nations publication, which may be secured from The World Peace Foundation, Boston, 80 cents. A comprehensive treatment.

Japan's Undeclared War in Shanghai. Published by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Shanghai. Paper bound. Through the World Tomorrow Bookshop, \$1.00. More than 200 pages of data, arguments and interpretations, setting forth the Chinese case against Japan. Profusely illustrated. Contains the text of important documents and state papers.

Homicide in the United States. By H. C. Brearley. The University of North Carolina Press. \$2.50. An authoritative and highly disturbing presentation and interpretation of the evidence concerning the appalling prevalence of murder in this country. Especially recommended for super-patriots who constantly boast of our "superior" civilization.

The Birth of the German Republic. By Arthur Rosenberg. Oxford. 286 pages. \$5.00. The German Empire was built on the Prussian army. The World War destroyed the Prussian army, leaving a middle class republic. This is chiefly a political and military history of the war years in Germany. It is a curious world in which all other nations try to build their security on the very foundations which crumbled so disastrously for Germany.

CORRESPONDENCE

Why We Are Squeamish

THE editorial in your June issue "Non-Military Sanctions or War" seems to be wholly right in contending that all use of armed sanctions leads in the direction of disaster, but equally do I feel that a boycott or partial embargo goes in the direction of war and that your editorial does not at all satisfactorily answer the case against resorting to the boycott, not only as stated by Devere Allen but by many other pacifists; notably by George Soule in *Harpers Magazine* for May.

I cannot in the limited space available for this letter go into the political and economic reasons which lead a number of us to think that in actual practice any international use of the boycott against Japan would in fact not work as a substitute for war, but would become an instrument of war and lead on to economic nationalism and imperialism of the most dangerous variety. But leaving this aside, I want to challenge here the last paragraph of THE WORLD TOMORROW editorial which speaks of "the squeamishness of liberals" and says "We do not think that it is politically realistic to refrain from using the boycott and other kinds of coercion because they involve the innocent with the guilty. . . . We believe that such an objection reveals a typical weakness of liberalism which tries to fashion political policies from ethical insights gained in individual intra-group relations."

How can THE WORLD TOMORROW justify that position, and the serious implications which flow from it, as right teaching from "a journal looking toward a social order based on the religion of Jesus"? Jesus' ethical insights were surely not confined to "individual intra-group relations." Back of Him lay the long social and national group experience of the Hebrews and the

social teachings in political terms addressed by the prophets to Israel, the nation. One remembers the famous dialogue between God and Abraham over the bringing of wholesale destruction upon the wicked city of Sodom: "Wilt Thou," said Abraham, "also destroy the righteous with the wicked? . . . Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" God, who apparently was not quite as "squeamish" as Abraham, finally compromised on the finding of ten righteous persons. Even if only that many could be found, God promised to refrain from indiscriminating discipline.

Again, it is the same issue which forms the point of the book of Jonah. There in a tremendous climax God speaks out against mass punishment: "Should not I spare Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than sixscore thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand; and also much cattle?"

One could go on to quote the argument of Jesus—"Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren"—and while, of course, there are contrary passages in scripture, the editors of THE WORLD TOMORROW will not, I think, deny the central emphasis on the infinite worth of each individual personality that is the inmost core and foundation of Jesus' religion and ethics.

An international economic sanction applied to a whole nation cuts dead against the moral distinguishing of personal innocence and personal guilt. It also fails to take into account Jesus' teaching that even the guilty are persons of extreme worth to God. Therefore, in opposing the economic boycott for these reasons, I do not consider that I am squeamish, but that I am defending the very foundations of the ethical structure of Christianity.

Beyond this we have still to face the urgent problem, "What alternative sanctions ought to be employed?" I am sure we are not confined to a tight choice between military violence or economic mass coercion or public opinion. There is not space in this letter to discuss additional alternatives, and I grant besides that nothing adequate has yet been worked out and applied. But I submit that there will be less chance of this ever being done if a journal like THE WORLD TOMORROW sweeps aside fundamental ethical insights of Judaism and Christianity with the specious political argument that they are just "the squeamishness of liberals."

New York, N. Y.

JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

A Note of Protest

IN the editorial "The Socialist Party" in your May issue, you declare your belief "that the problems of our civilization can be dealt with only in socialist terms" and that you are "not inclined to welcome the emergence of any third party in the field unless it commits itself to unambiguous socialist strategy." As I take you to mean, such "strategy" implies a third party which expresses the "needs of the workers of this country" and roots "in the economic interests of the workers rather than in terms which are purely middle class." I am reminded of Paul Hutchinson's article in a recent number of the *Forum* where he discusses this same issue but looks for the new party alignment to emerge out of some militant workers' organization. He seems to have little if any hope from the Socialist Party.

Your editorial and Mr. Hutchinson's article are agreed in that they both look for a new party to spring up out of the leadership and support of the workers. This makes me wonder if the Christian leadership here expressed is thinking in terms broad enough to meet present needs within the scope of our democracy. Are

ve expecting the Christian Church to be dragged into "class-conflict" or merely to give its aid—for the time being—in the rescue of the under-dog? Is there not some broad meaning for socialism in terms of justice and equality and some deep note that sounds out a Christian socialism just as important to the farmer, the business man and the professional as to the workers? If the workers have this justice on their side or if the "strategy" is more appealing to them than to the others, then so much the better for the workers.

Socialist Christians, it seems to me, will do well in avoiding any party which attaches itself to the interests of a particular class. And if I understand the position of Mr. Thomas, there is in his mind a much broader hope for American socialism than such class movement would bring.

Quincy, Mich.

F. S. KINNEY

Interracial Understanding

AN impressionistic account of the high spots of a recent trip through five Southern states by three men interested in interracial coöperation may prove of interest to your readers. The trip was made by a party composed of two secretaries of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (both white) and one student secretary of the National Council Y.M.C.A. (Negro) in the direct interest of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the South. To this end groups were called together at each stop to consider the philosophy, program and method of the Fellowship, and in a few instances local units were tentatively organized. A great interest was expressed in the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and many indicated a desire and willingness to give time and effort to the promotion of worthwhile Fellowship projects.

Since we traveled by motor, we avoided the necessity of complying with the rules of segregation. Then, too, we selected our eating and lodging places so that it was possible for men of two races to dine and sleep together, though the places had to be homes and hotels of Negroes, or schools operated for and by Negroes. Doubtless one gains no great advantage over the institution of segregation when all the eating and sleeping for the sake of "inter-racial-togetherness" has to take place in Negro homes, hotels, or schools. But it is good, nevertheless, for the souls of both blacks and whites to observe that men for whom they hold the highest respect find nothing strange in this kind of behavior. Perhaps the Negro hotel proprietors on the next occasion will not say, "We are afraid to have white gentlemen stop in this hotel"; nor the good white friends when apprised of such happenings express on their whole countenance, "Do you Dare?"

Our itinerary took us into Negro and white colleges in Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina. We spoke at college assemblies, lectured to classes in history, psychology, sociology, and religion; and met with other groups, in many cases interracial groups, for the purpose of discussing problems and questions of mutual concern. Of course, it was to be expected that the students in the white colleges would respond favorably to the white members of the party, but it was a pleasant surprise to find that in every instance where the Negro member of the party spoke or participated in a general discussion, the same overt response was made to him. On other occasions the writer has observed white students quitting the room as he arose to talk, but on this trip a few students fought down the desire to leave the room and subsequently engaged in pleasant and apparently effortless conversation with him.

In all of our speeches and discussions world peace and brotherhood were emphasized. Again and again it was pointed out by Nevin Sayre that if civilization is to survive, we must have peace. Reconciliation between groups, races and nations is basic for peace, but reconciliation is not possible so long as greed, competition, fear and hate dominate the thoughts of men in their attitude toward other groups, races, and nations, and toward each other. We must let understanding, friendship, love, and coöperation supplant greed, strife, hate and conflict if the human race is to survive. Modern science makes possible the destruction, within a few days, of what man by his skill and ingenuity has built and achieved during the history of civilization. We addressed ourselves to a careful consideration of some of the techniques predicated on love which seem to have withstood the pragmatic test down through the centuries.

Atlanta, Ga.

H. W. POPE

ANNOUNCEMENTS

A Venture in Cooperative Study

THE Canadian Institute of Economic and International Affairs, conducted by the National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations of Canada, will hold a session at YMCA Park, Lake Couchiching, Ontario, from August 15 to August 27. The Institute will consist of a series of forums, round table discussions, and lecture conferences under the guidance of Professors R. M. MacIver, Columbia University; J. F. Parkinson, University of Toronto; N. A. M. MacKenzie, University of Toronto; and John Line, Victoria College.

The aim of the Institute is "to provide means whereby thoughtful men and women of all walks of life who are concerned about the present world situation may have opportunity under competent leadership to think through some of the more pressing issues involved."

The total cost per person for the entire period, covering room, board, and tuition, will vary from \$34.00 to \$38.00, depending on the type of accommodation. More detailed information may be had by addressing Mr. R. E. G. Davis, 40 College Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Progressive Veterans

A NUMBER of World War veterans who are opposed to the imperialistic and jingo policies of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars recently met under the auspices of the Civic Club in New York City to form a group which will speak for those thousands of ex-soldiers and sailors who do not approve of the sabre-rattling, fascist tactics of the major veterans' organizations.

All veterans who feel that the time has come for a renunciation of the reactionary and militaristic policies of the American Legion and the V. F. W. and who would like to join this group in New York or form similar groups in other cities are asked to communicate in writing to Charles Yale Harrison, care of the Civic Club, 18 East 10 Street, New York, N. Y.

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